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Published In the Interest of ALL the People

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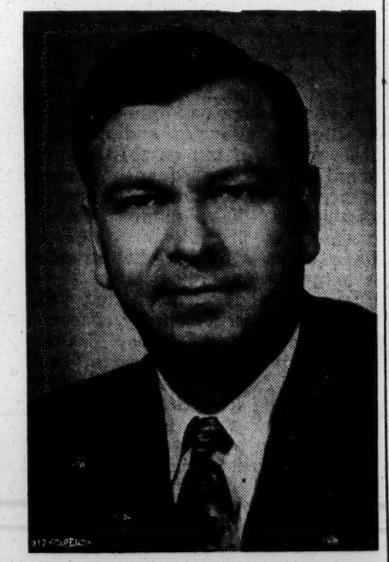
Allocation Of All Highway Use Tax To Roads Advocated By Talmadge

Herman Talmadge Says:



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You and Segregation

By

HERMAN E. TALMADGE

Chapter 2

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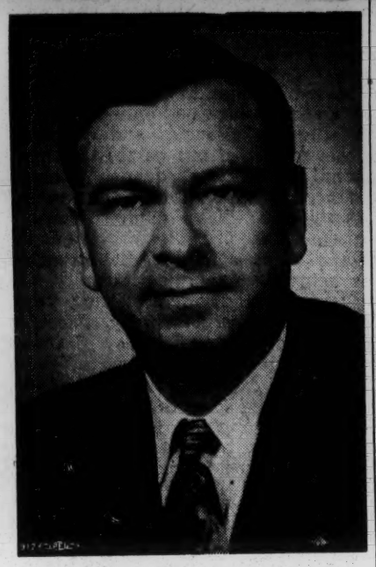

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It is high time that Congress stopped playing sucker for this intellectual boobytrap and took a long, hard look at the bottomless rathole called "psychological warfare" down which it has been pouring the millions of American taxpayers with no obvious return. The mere fact that the United States has less friends and allies than when it started its ambitious missionary effort should be enough to convince any fair-minded person that the program has been a failure.

What has been done with the money spent on informational programs and "psychological warfare" abroad?

Press Agents The only thing I can put my finger on is that it has provided livelihood for 12,000 American press agents who, with their striped pants and homburg hats, have been living in the lap of luxury in French chateaux and the mansions of swank foreign residential sections in the major cities of the world. In return for their fat salary checks they have circulated insipid news handouts and shown films to ignorant peasants about "Washing Windows at the Empire State Building."

The USIA budget has been used to pay for the Voice of America to compete with Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia and the Armed Forces Radio Service; a Motion Picture Service to circulate propaganda films in competition with the popular offerings of Hollywood; a news wire service to compete with the competent products of the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service; and an assortment of amateurish newspapers and slick magazines to compete with such excellent privately-printed publications as Readers' Digest, Saturday Evening Post, U. S. News and World Report and The New York Times.

Everyone who has gone abroad and taken an open-minded look at the boondoggling operations of the USIA has returned disgusted. Congressman John J. Rooney, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, commented after an inspection trip in 13 foreign countries: "This Agency is more interested in telling the American people how good it is than combatting Communism overseas." Senator Dennis Chavez concluded after a trip to Italy that USIA is "not doing a bit of good" and is "wast-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

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These men understood fully and believed sincerely the everlasting political truth that no man or group of men can be trusted safely with unlimited governmental power.

In writing the Constitution of this new Republic, they were determined above all else, to establish a government of laws and not of men.

This was their guiding principle.

To accomplish this and to prevent the arbitrary exercise of power in the new government, they provided and placed in the Federal Constitution the doctrine of the separation of governmental authority.

They vested in the Congress the powers to make laws; in the President the power to execute the laws; and in the Supreme Court the power to interpret laws. Moreover, these patriots declared that the legislative, the executive and the judicial powers of the Federal Government should forever remain separate and distinct from each other.

However, the members of the Constitutional Congress did not put their sole reliance in the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers. Against the power of Congress to make laws, they balanced the power of the President to **veto acts of Congress. Then they** balanced the power of Congress over the treasury against the President's power as Commander and Chief of the Army and Navy and furthermore gave the Congress the power to over-ride the President's veto.

They made the Supreme Court of the United States independent of the President and the Congress. They did this by giving its judges life tenure during good behavior and by providing that their pay should not be reduced while they held office.

But although definite checks and balances were placed on the President and the Congress, nothing was put in the Constitution to restrain the Supreme Court of the United States from abusing its judicial power.

The Supreme Court is Supreme

This failure touched off a great debate. George Mason, a Virginia delegate, made this wise observation, "The judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states."

Mason pointed out that under the Constitution the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States would "not be in any manner subject to revision or correction; that the power of construing the laws would enable the Supreme Court to mold them into whatever shape it should think proper; that the Supreme Court of the United States could substitute its own pleasure for the law of the land; and that errors and usurpations of the Supreme Court of the United States would be uncontrolled and remedi-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

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Talmadge pointed out that the United States presently realizes two and one-half billion dollars each year from its gasoline and other highway-user taxes while Congress is appropriating only $600 million, or about one-fourth, of that amount for road-building purposes. He said a long-range, federally-financed road-building program providing the full two and one-half billion dollars each year would be "more than sufficient" to give the people of the United States within a reasonable time the interstate roads they need both for defense and civilian use.

"This is a case in which the United States government could learn a lesson from the State of Georgia," he declared. "When I became Governor, Georgia's road-building program, too, was suffering from the diversion of state highway-user revenues to other purposes. I am proud to say that, during my tenure, the people of Georgia ratified an amendment to the Georgia Constitution specifically allocating all income from highway-user taxes for highway purposes. Now Georgia has an adequately-financed highway program and is well on the way toward providing within the foreseeable future the kind of intrastate highway system our needs demand.

"I feel confident that, would Congress give them the opportunity, the General Assemblies of the various states of this nation would swiftly ratify an Amendment to the Federal Constitution allocating all federal highway-user revenue for highway purposes. It is neither right nor fair for the American people to pay these highway-user taxes in good faith and not receive adequate highways in return. Congress and the Federal Government are doing the

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

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IF YOU HAVE MOVED FROM ANOTHER COUNTY IN GEORGIA SINCE YOU VOTED LAST, request a certificate of transfer from your former county registrar at once so that you can take it to the registrar in the county in which you now reside.

YOU ARE QUALIFIED TO REGISTER IF: (1) you are a citizen of the United States; (2) you are at least 18 years old (or will be by the general election date, November 6, 1956); (3) you will have been a resident of Georgia for one year, and of the county in which you offer to vote for six months before November 6; (4) you are either of good character and have an understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government or able to read and write any paragraph of the U. S. or Georgia Constitution chosen by the registrar. If you are physically handicapped, you may qualify by interpreting certain paragraphs of the Constitution.

IF YOU HAVE NEVER VOTED IN GEORGIA, inquire at your courthouse (tax collector or tax commissioner, or registrar's office) as to the time and place to register.

IF YOU ARE A MEMBER OF THE ARMED SERVICES or a dependent of armed services personnel, you may register absentee up to and including election day. Any member of the military, his family, or a friend may request a registration card to be filled in by the member of the military.

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THE STATESMAN

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THE PEOPLE.....EDITOR

EUGENE TALMADGE.....Associate Editor
1933 - 1946

HERMAN E. TALMADGE.....Associate Editor
MISS O. N. FOSTER.....Business Manager
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(Continued from Page 1)

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Other delegates, who had fought the despotism of the English King and his government were also greatly concerned. They had placed certain restraints on the President and on the Congress, but none on the third branch of the government, the judiciary.

Alexander Hamilton, the great Federalist, was quick to reject these arguments with this emphatic assertion, "The supposed danger of the Judiciary encroachments is in reality, a phantom." This was true, he asserted, because men selected to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States would "be chosen with a view of those qualifications which [illegible] and that they would

Let's Look At Russia Honestly

(Editor's Note: The following is a continuation of an address delivered before the United States House of Representatives by Congressman Michael A. Feighan, the beginning of which was carried in the April 12th issue of THE STATESMAN. Although the address initially was delivered on August 2, 1955, it has significance in the light of recent developments which prompted this newspaper to reprint it in installments for the benefit of its readership.)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 18, 1955

Mr. ALLEN W. DULLES,
Director, Central Intelligence Agency,

Washington, D. C., July 18, 1955.

DEAR MR. DULLES: My secretary informed me that on Friday afternoon Col. Stanley Grogan had telephoned. My secretary also informed me that Colonel Grogan identified himself as your assistant, and stated that in connection with my letter of July 6, instead of getting into a lengthy exchange of communications, that you would prefer to talk over with me the subject matter of my letter of July 6.

For many years, I have devoted a great deal of time and study to the international Communist conspiracy, the many different nations and people which comprise the U. S. S. R., and important part that Russian imperialism fills in this conspiracy.

This is a subject matter which could consume many hours of discussion and exchange of views. What prompted my writing to you, as my letter of July 6 indicates, was the article published under your name in the Parade magazine section of the Washington Post and Times Herald of July 3 titled "Let's Look at Russia Honestly," and my concern lest the views expressed in that article are reflective of the combined opinion of our intelligence agencies and do comprise a part of our established national policy. Consequently, I have reduced my questions to a few in number and have made them as succinct as possible in order to make unnecessary long conferences or lengthy communications.

I am firmly convinced that you, Mr. Dulles, are as vitally concerned as am I, as a Member of Congress, and as an American, that the vast expenditures of public funds for the collection and evaluation of intelligence should put us in a position to know all the facts on the international Communist conspiracy. Moreover, it is my strong personal conviction that it is impossible to assess properly an actual or potential enemy unless we know all his strength and all his vulnerabilities and assess them according to their relative weight.

I am looking forward to receiving your letter in response to my letter of July 6.

Sincerely,
MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 28, 1955.
Mr. ALLEN W. DULLES,

vine mission,' while appeals to the soldiery founded on this idea of fatality and its glorious rewards are seldom made in vain. To a feeling of this sort has been attributed that remarkable patience and endurance which distinguish the Russian soldier in the greatest privations."

Over the ancient skeleton of Russian imperialism, Lenin and Stalin threw a cloak of Communist ideology, but the bones of the skeleton show through. Even as in Czarist times, when the Russian Bear stands on its hind feet with its front paws held up as if in prayer, we must "beware of the bear that walks like a man."

During the past 4 years, we have studied the problem of communism intensively. We have discussed it, read about it, thought about it, worked at it. In the light of the experience with Russian Communist leaders recorded in the foregoing chapters, we have asked ourselves, What is the meaning of communism? To us as Americans? To the world at large? How can our own self-interest, how can the best interests of our country best be served in a world which is an armed camp divided between communism and anticommunism, with the ever-present fear of thermonuclear destruction hanging heavy over our heads? As a challenge, what do we know about communism?

For a program, we must first examine briefly how Russian and international communism got this way.

A year ago Independence Day just past, I was in Munich Germany, as a member of the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression, where we were taking testimony from expert witnesses on the subject of Communist aggression against and occupation of the many once free and independent nations that now comprise the U. S. S. R. While in Munich, I was asked by the director of the Munich Voice of America station to deliver a brief address to the people behind the Iron Curtain. The brief address which I delivered was beamed behind the Iron Curtain in all the foreign languages in which the Voice of

HERMAN TALMADGE SAYS:

(Continued from Page 1)

ing time telling foreigners how good the United States is."

Great Fallacy

The great fallacy in this effort to sell the world on the American way of life and standard of living is that it creates envy and distrust rather than friendship and confidence. People who have nothing and who are hungry resent being told about a land of milk and honey which offers a way of life to which they can never aspire. To be confronted and bombarded day after day with evidence of American plenty is an argument which creates the attitude of futility rather than hope and turns foreigners toward, not away from, Communism.

Experts in the fields of public relations and propaganda have told Congress that the United States would be far better off to abolish the USIA and its self-serving radio, movie and publicity arms and let the programs, movies and publications of private industry in this country speak the United States' piece free of the taint of propaganda. They have recommended that this nation's Ambassadors be restored to their once-high rank as spokesman for America and its position and that this country concentrate on highly-effective trade fair exhibits and the personal diplomacy of American tourism.

Of course, everyone wants to tell our side of the story but sometimes it is well to put oneself in the other fellow's shoes before taking a hard-and-fast stand on an issue like this.

Suppose, for instance, that an entourage of 30 Cambodians suddenly descended upon the City of Atlanta complete with printing presses, sound trucks, a motion picture theater, radio station and a library. Suppose these Cambodians subjected the people of Georgia month after month and year after year to an unceasing flow of propa[illegible] about the virtues of the Cambodian way of life and

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Hamilton explained his belief and conviction in this manner, "It has been frequently remarked with great propriety, that a voluminous code of laws is one of the inconveniences necessarily connected with the advantages of a free government. To avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them; and it will readily be conceived, from the variety of controversies which grow out of the folly and wickedness of mankind, that the records of those precedents must unavoidably swell to a very considerable bulk, and must demand long and laborious study to acquire a competent knowledge of them. Hence, it is that there can be but few men in society, who will have sufficient skill in the laws to qualify them for the station of Judges."

Hamilton seems to have won a majority of the delegates to his way of thinking by convincing them that only the most qualified and experienced judges would ever be appointed or allowed to sit on the United States Supreme Court bench.

The Constitutional Congress submitted its work to the peoples of the several States and it was finally adopted in 1789 despite much opposition to parts of the Constitution.

Citizens in all of the states were asking questions as to why certain basic laws had not been spelled out in the document. It is true that the powers of the Federal Government were enumerated, but "what about the rights of the individuals and the states?" they asked.

The clamor grew louder. The people were worried. They did not like the idea of the new Constitution failing to include the very principles for which they had fought the British crown.

The Bill of Rights

James Madison and Thomas Jefferson knew the people were right in their demands. So these two statesmen wrote the basic amendments to the Constitution which we now know as the "Bill of Rights." They are simple, forthright and easily understood. They followed the pattern of the original Constitution. Where that document had enumerated the powers of the Federal Government and its executive, legislative and judicial branches in detail, Madison and Jefferson enumerated the rights of the individuals.

These first ten amendments, comprising the Bill of Rights, may be compared to the Ten Commandments. They are both "Thou Shall Not" documents, one for a nation founded under God; the other for a people living under God.

The first nine of the amendments in the Bill of Rights granted or guaranteed the individual liberties which we enjoy today and which stand in sharp contrast to the total lack of liberty in totalitarian states.

These amendments, which every school boy should know, guarantee us the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, the right of trial by a jury of our peers, the right of Habeas Corpus, the right to make bail pending trial, freedom against illegal search or seizure, freedom against the quartering of troops in private homes except in time of war, and other guarantees to INDIVIDUAL citizens.

The Tenth Amendment in the Bill of Rights was considered by Madison, Jefferson and other founding fathers as just as important as the first nine.

The Amendment means exactly what it says. "All powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited . . . are reserved to the States, or to the people."

This language is so plain and clear that anyone with a fifth grade education can read it and readily understand it.

When this great document, the Bill of Rights, was adopted, our leaders realized that the people in each State, county, city and town are better qualified to handle their own local problems than are officials of the Federal Government, be they the Executive, the Legislative or the Judicial departments.

They anticipated a time when the United States would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and from Mexico to Canada. There was quite a fight, you will remember, over the problem of apportioning representation in Congress among large and small States. Members from some of the Atlantic seaboard States were determined to write the law so as to prevent the West from ever controlling Congress. The present plan we have now adopted then as a compromise and is one of the wisest provisions in our Constitution.

They realized and recognized that the problems of each state would be different. Therefore, they set up our dual system of government with sovereign authority resting in the hands of the local people.

History has proven them right. History has also proven that Alexander Hamilton was wrong in his predictions concerning members appointed to the Supreme Court.

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Next week: The Supreme Court and the Constitution

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The Other Foot

You know what your reaction would be so how can you blame a poor Cambodian, Egyptian or Frenchman from reacting in the same way to our efforts.

Not only is it inconsiderate for us to din our propaganda into the ears of unwilling foreigners day after day but it also is dangerous.

The truth needs no defense and the person who cries "wolf" too often one day finds no one believes him when he warns of a real impending disaster.

The late George Creel, who was Woodrow Wilson's Director of War Information and was one of this country's most able journalists, once said that **"shouting wars always lead to shooting wars."**

Those are words of wisdom which Congress would do well to heed before taking the foolish step of voting a $137,000,000 budget for another futile year of unproductive American propaganda.

—HERMAN E. TALMADGE.

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Washington, D. C., July 28, 1955.

Mr. ALLEN W. DULLES,
Director, Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DULLES: On July 6, 1955, I wrote you a letter in which I sought answers to a number of questions growing out of your article, Let's Look at Russia Honestly, which appeared in the Parade section of the Washington Post and Times Herald on July 3.

On July 18, I again wrote to you on the same subject after one of your assistants, Col. Stanley Grogan, had telephoned my office stating that you were in receipt of my letter.

Because of my study of, and my intensive interest in, the international Communist conspiracy, I would greatly appreciate having your answer before Congress adjourns.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN.

With reference to Mr. Dulles' article—Let's Look at Russia Honestly—and the questions which I raised concerning it, I would like at this point to bring to the attention of the Members of the House an excerpt from a book written by Adm. William H. Sandley, and published only a few months ago, titled "Admiral Ambassador to Russia."

Admiral Standley was American Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from February 1942 until the closing months of 1943 when he resigned. On page 507 of this illuminating exposition of Russian Communist behavior, the following verbatim statement appears:

There is nothing new in Russia. Perhaps things are a little worse or a little better for the common man, woman, and child than they were under the czars—but not much. History teaches that conditions have not changed materially since the 17th century when Peter the Great unified Russia and "liberated" the serf. Russia has always looked outward, has always been expansionist. Possessing one-sixth of the world's surface, she has yet wanted more—an ice-free port on the Atlantic and one on the Pacific, control of the Dardanelles, a defensive frontier, security from the barbarians of the north or the south.

Our Minister to Russia in 1852, Mr. Neill S. Brown, has left us this fine diagnosis of Russian imperialism:

"A stronge superstition prevails among the Russians, that they are destined to conquer the world, and the prayers of the priests in the church are mingled with requests to hasten and consummate this 'di-

our own self-interest, how can the best interests of our country best be served in a world which is an armed camp divided between communism and anticommunism, with the ever-present fear of thermonuclear destruction hanging heavy over our heads? As a challenge, what do we know about communism?

For a program, we must first examine briefly how Russian and international communism got this way.

A year ago Independence Day just past, I was in Munich Germany, as a member of the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression, where we were taking testimony from expert witnesses on the subject of Communist aggression against and occupation of the many once free and independent nations that now comprise the U. S. S. R. While in Munich, I was asked by the director of the Munich Voice of America station to deliver a brief address to the people behind the Iron Curtain. The brief address which I delivered was beamed behind the Iron Curtain in all the foreign languages in which the Voice of America broadcasts to the enslaved people therein. My Fourth of July Independence Day message to all the nations and people enslaved by communism was carried by the Voice of America during a 12-hour period, and since it has a direct bearing on the questions which I have raised in my letters to Mr. Dulles, I believe it is worth while reading at this point:

During the time I have been in Munich, the House Committee on Communist Aggression has devoted eight days to taking testimony on Communist aggression. Although I have made a study of communism, its methods, tactics, and objectives, some of the evidence produced during these hearings was startling in that it unmasked the terrible brutalities and unbelievable inhumanities committed by the leaders and followers of communism. There can be no doubt but that communism is an international conspiracy which we must either destroy or it will engulf the entire world.

The committee heard eye witnesses to the most terrible crimes ever committed against mankind. These crimes committed by the Russian Communists ranged from the devilish torture of individuals to the brutal and heartless mass destruction of entire nations of people. Other witnesses bore testimony on the manner in which the Communists desecrate and destroy all those things that mankind has labored and died for up through the centuries. In particular, we heard about the tactics the Communists used to violate the integrity of the family and the sanctity of the home, to destroy all the temples of God regardless of the particular belief, the destruction of all laws upon which the order of civilization is based, the gross perversion of historical truths and facts and the climate of fear which the elite leaders of the conspiracy provoke in order to control the people.

All of these crimes when put together present a picture which is the blackest ever known to mankind.

I was particularly impressed with the evidence presented by the spokesmen for the enslaved people of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. This testimony was supported by documents and hard facts and eye witness testimony of the tactics used by the Bolsheviks during the period of 1917 through 1921 to destroy the national independence of some fifteen non-Russian nations. For a great many years Communist propaganda has been seeking to becloud the issue with respect to the national aspirations of the people of these non-Russian nations. The testimony

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

Talmadge Proposes Amendment Earmarking Highway Use Taxes

(Continued from Page 1)

American taxpayers in general and the motoring public in particular a grave injustice in allowing this situation to continue."

* * *

THE FORMER CHIEF Executive also proposed that the Federal Government take another page out of Georgia's book through the enactment by Congress of a streamlined budget law prohibiting the Federal Government, except in periods of war or extreme national emergency, from spending during any given fiscal year more than it receives in revenue. Such a law, he said, would require the President, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget to reduce all appropriations pro rata when it appeared that the Government's income for that year would be insufficient to meet the amounts allocated by Congress. The law, he said, could be suspended only by Congressional resolution and not by executive order.

(The State of Georgia is prohibited by its Constitution from incurring indebtedness. Under the provisions of state budget laws, the Governor must reduce the budgets of the various departments of State Government when such becomes necessary to keep the State within its income and prevent deficit spending.)

Talmadge further advocated:

1. a substantial income tax cut retroactive to January 1.

2. bringing the federal budget into immediate balance and making a substantial payment on the national debt.

He contended that those two steps could be taken by eliminating wasteful foreign aid expenditures. Noting that the amounts of the federal deficit and current foreign aid spending are almost identical, he said the cancellation of the latter would take care of the former.

* * *

"BY ELIMINATING the requested $4.9 billion for continued foreign aid," he said, "Congress could guarantee a balanced budget, make a significant start toward paying off the national debt and give every citizen in this country a substantial tax cut."

He also advocated the reclaiming of the approximately $7 billion in unexpended foreign aid surplus which will be held by the International Cooperation Administration at the end of the current fiscal year.

Talmadge was particularly critical of the fact that while American taxpayers are told this nation cannot afford an adequate highway system, the ICA presently is spending many millions to build a 200-mile highway through the jungles of Central Thailand, a highway of undisclosed length connecting the capital of Cambodia with the Gulf of Siam and a 145-mile highway across the island of Formosa.

The Atlanta Attorney concluded with the declaration that "to spend money for highways through every jungle in the world at the expense of such needed projects here at home amounts to irresponsibility bordering on insanity."

Commissioners Name Herman E. Talmadge Citizen Of The Year

SAVANNAH, Ga. — Former Governor Herman E. Talmadge was named "Georgia Citizen of the Year" by the Association County Commissioners of Georgia at its annual meeting here last week.

The Award, a plaque given each year to a Georgian who has made a significant contribution to the growth and progress of the State, was presented to Talmadge "in recognition of exemplary service to the citizens at large and to the governments of the County and State."

The presentation was made by John Sammons Bell, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and counsel for the Association, in ceremonies climaxing the three-day meeting.

HERMAN TALMADGE'S SPEAKING SCHEDULE

Tuesday — April 24 — GREENSBORO, Ga. — Lions Club — 7:00 P. M.

Wednesday — April 25 — SAVANNAH, Ga. — Annual Meeting, National Secretaries Association — 7:30 P. M.

Friday — April 27 — ATLANTA, Ga. — Brotherhood, First Baptist Church of Buckhead — 7:00 P. M.

Saturday — April 28 — ATHENS, Ga. — Preside over Annual Meeting of University of Georgia Alumni Society.

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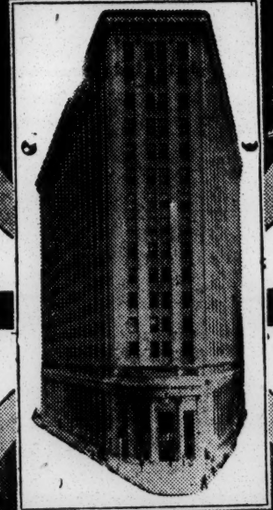

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President

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Look at Russia

(Continued from Page 2)

we have received will serve as a death blow to this evil propaganda because it will expose the Soviet Union for what it is—the prison of nations and the ruthless enslaver of all the people under its control. It is my fervent hope that from the testimony taken here in Munich and elsewhere it will be possible for the United States to develop a positive policy, calling for the liberation of all the nations and people enslaved by communism by our firm advocacy of those moral and political principles upon which the American way of life is based. Those moral and political principles are far more powerful in the cause of freedom and justice than are all the armies and destructive weapons known to mankind. But before we can fully use this arsenal for true peace and freedom we must totally discard the morally bankrupt policy of containment and all its advocates.

This is the task that lies ahead for all liberty-loving people. I sincerely believe that the testimony our committee has been receiving from witnesses who know best what communism means and what must be done to defeat it, will make our historic task, as Americans, much easier.

The basic policy of the United States, since the days of its inception, has been based upon the political belief that all nations, large and small, have not only the right but also the duty to separate themselves from any tyrannical oppressor. In more recent years we have expressed this policy by our unwavering support of the principle of national self-determination.

This should stand as a beacon of hope to all the enslaved nations of the Communist empire.

I refer particularly to the people of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Adzerbaidzahn, Turkestani, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, North Caucasia, and Russia.

Another very pertinent and timely article which should help all Americans to "look at Russia honestly" is one titled "The Russia First Movement in the United States," which appeared in the scholarly Ukrainian Quarterly magazine during the summer of 1953 by an author named Americus. I do urge Mr. Dulles to give eration. Seated at the table next to us were three very serious-looking men. They were talking with such vigor and emphasis that we could not help but overhear their conversation. One of them appeared to be an old Government hand and the other two were obviously newcomers but with definite convictions on what had to be done, and done quickly, if the election promises in the field of foreign affairs were to be accomplished.

The subject of their conversation was the Russia first movement and its influence on the foreign policy of the United States. All three were certain that this movement exercised a dangerous influence on the development and exercise of our foreign policy but they were in considerable disagreement on the methods to be used in removing its roots from the Washington bureaucracy. One held that it would take a full scale congressional investigation to complete the removal. The other two maintained the task could be accomplished by removing the leading advocates from policy positions within the Government, replacing them with people whose first loyalties were to the glorious traditions which form the foundations of our country, and as a consequence the lesser lights would abandon the movement.

Here, in brief, is how they described the Russia first movement and its adherents. The territory of Russia is held to be sacred and inviolate and subject to a dark mysticism which is beyond the comprehension of ordinary Westerners. The Russian people are looked upon as superior with a mission in life to bring the inferior peoples of the world under their domination so that all mankind may advance to a higher civilization. Since the Russian people are imbued with this mystic mission, we of the West must do nothing to offend them because in their hour of world triumph they might become unduly harsh toward those who opposed their self-appointed mission. Moscow is looked upon as the center of a new autocratic paternalism. The despotism and cruel tyranny of Moscow is only temporary since it results from the resistance of the inferior non-Russian peoples to the missionary work of the Russians. All this will end when the mystic mission is completed. the world will then be at peace under the warm paternal protection of Moscow. The ordinary western mind is supposed to be ignorant of the facts concerning the peoples of Russia and their aspirations; therefore, it is the first duty of the there are Russians and non-Russians in the U. S. S. R. The next thing I learned was that the U. S. S. R. was not a nation but an empire made up of many different nations only one of which is Russian in character, language, history, tradition, and aspiration. To my amazement I learned that the Russian people are in the minority in the U. S. S. R. but that they occupy the vast majority of the positions of power and influence under the Communist system. However, the most important thing I learned was that when the Czarist Empire burst at the seams in 1917, the non-Russian nations, held in the slavery of that system for many years, declared their national independence, and established governments representative of the popular will of the people. This development caused the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.) which was nothing but a cover for the Bolshevik army under Trotsky then charged with the task of destroying all these reborn nations and expanding the realm of Marxism.

These are the things I learned from the World War II non-Russian emigres of the U. S. S. R. Over and above this I learned how well organized they are and of their determination to carry on their fight against Moscow. They are violently anti-Communist and intensely loyal to the traditions and institutions most characteristically American. In their eyes the American Declaration of Independence set forth unchangeable principles which today coincide with the aspirations of the enslaved nations within the Communist empire. They are not anti-Russian, but they are dedicated to exposing and destroying Russian chauvinism. Russian chauvinism to them is the same as Nazi super-racism, a belief peculiar to the intelligentsia but lacking in mass support, because the masses are the innocent victims of it.

In discussions with the Russian emigres I learned quickly that one must distinguish between the old and the new. The old are those who came to the United States between the great wars but who, nevertheless, are more Russian than anything else. The new are those who suffered under Communist rule and became self-exiled after World War II by refusing repatriation to the U. S. S. R. They are to some degree misfits because they do not understand the unrealistic dreams of the old Russians, and they are groping for a solution to the problem of communism which will forever lift the hand of tyranny from the people. This makes for conflict between the old and the new. It is further aggravated by the old, who insist they know what is best for the newcomers, particularly what they should think and say about the present-day U. S. S. R. But the old have the upper hand, and their voices still speak for all the Russians in the United States.

(To Be Continued)

WHAT IS THE KEY?

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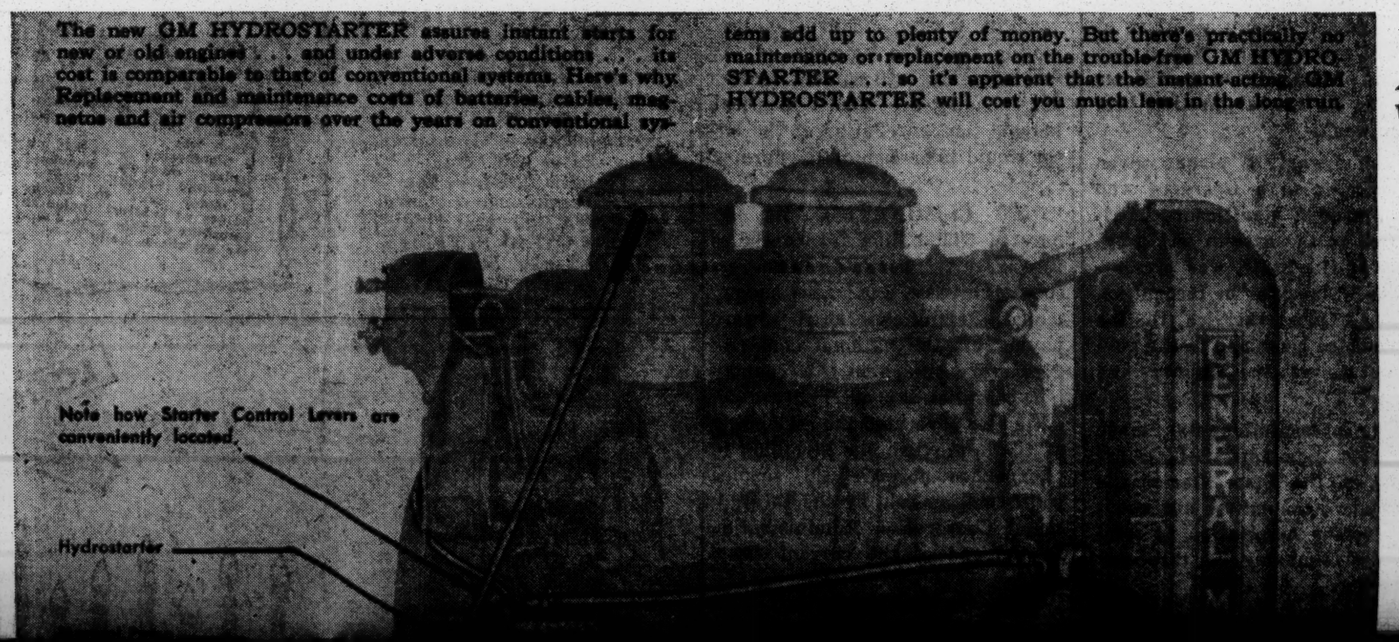
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THE RUSSIA-FIRST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Americus)

A few weeks after the inauguration, I visited Washington with the assignment to get a real story on the plans of the new administration to implement its policy of liberation. During the election campaign the containment policy had been fully exposed and identified as both spiritually and intellectually stagnant by the Republicans. The Democrats denied any responsibility for such a policy, stating it never existed as the official policy of the Government and was the result of political misunderstanding and misinterpretations. With both major political parties denying the policy of containment, the American people looked for a positive and dynamic answer to the belligerent threat to all human freedom presented by the Russian Communists. General Eisenhower provided the popular answer when he proclaimed a policy of liberation as the only one that would preserve human freedom and individual liberties in any quarter of the world. This declaration raised the hopes of all mankind, including the millions of people enslaved by the Communists, and was a major factor in bringing victory to the Republican Party. It was only natural that I should be in Washington early looking for a story on the methods that would be developed to bring about the restoration of national independence and human freedom for the enslaved nations.

After almost a week of effort to get a lead on my story I was about to give up because everyone seemed to be too busy even to hint on how long it would take to develop the new, dynamic policy. It was evident that it would take several more months before the administration would have the reins solidly in hand, with the new policy people placed in all the key positions of control. After making reservations for the trip back home, I began to wonder what my new assignment would be. A last-minute luncheon with an old friend determined my next assignment because it put me on the lead of a story linked with the policy of liberation the movement.

Here, in brief, is how they described the Russia first movement and its adherents. The territory of Russia is held to be sacred and inviolate and subject to a dark mysticism which is beyond the comprehension of ordinary Westerners. The Russian people are looked upon as superior with a mission in life to bring the inferior peoples of the world under their domination so that all mankind may advance to a higher civilization. Since the Russian people are imbued with this mystic mission, we of the West must do nothing to offend them because in their hour of world triumph they might become unduly harsh toward those who opposed their self-appointed mission. Moscow is looked upon as the center of a new autocratic paternalism. The despotism and cruel tyranny of Moscow is only temporary since it results from the resistance of the inferior non-Russian peoples to the missionary work of the Russians. All this will end when the mystic mission is completed. the world will then be at peace under the warm paternal protection of Moscow. The ordinary western mind is supposed to be ignorant of the facts concerning the peoples of Russia and their aspirations; therefore, it is the first duty of the movement to make certain they remain in that confused and helpless state.

With this challenging background my curiosity was aroused to a point where I determined my next assignment had to be the Russia first movement in the United States. If the charges were true and the movement had a foothold in and out of government, I had a story better than the one I came to Washington for originally. The policy of liberation would have very tough going if the Russia first movement was as well anchored in the higher echelons of the Government career service as the three narrators maintained. This would mean the administration would have another internal enemy in addition to the Communists and their active sympathizers.

In talks with some of my old friends in the Government career service, my suspicions were further aroused. I hit either a wall of polite silence or obtained small bits of information handed out with the plea "don't quote me and for heaven's sake don't get me involved." Some of the people interviewed suggested I drop my search for a story because the new administration had committed itself against the containment policy and had promised to replace it with one consistent with American principles and ideals. These people held that the spirit of the containment policy was the lifeblood of the Russia first movement and with its demise the movement would die. Others interviewed took the position that the leaders of the containment policy had established a resistance movement in the Government which would fight every move of the administration to develop a dynamic policy and so the Russia first movement would continue to have strong advocates in key career positions. While some very helpful leads were developed in talks with government people, it was most discouraging that few of them would speak freely about the movement, while on the other hand most of them knew about it and despised it.

The second stage of my search took me to the leaders of the World War II emigree groups living in the United States because it was there, I was told, the most current and complete information would be available. These were the people who had lived under the rule of the Russian Communists and they were sensitive to both its open and hidden tactics. In discussions with these leaders I only confirmed the existence of a Russia first movement but was treated to a liberal education about the many different people who make up the U. S. S. R., the powerful forces within it pulling against the Kremlin and the powder keg frailties of the system. The first thing I learned was that

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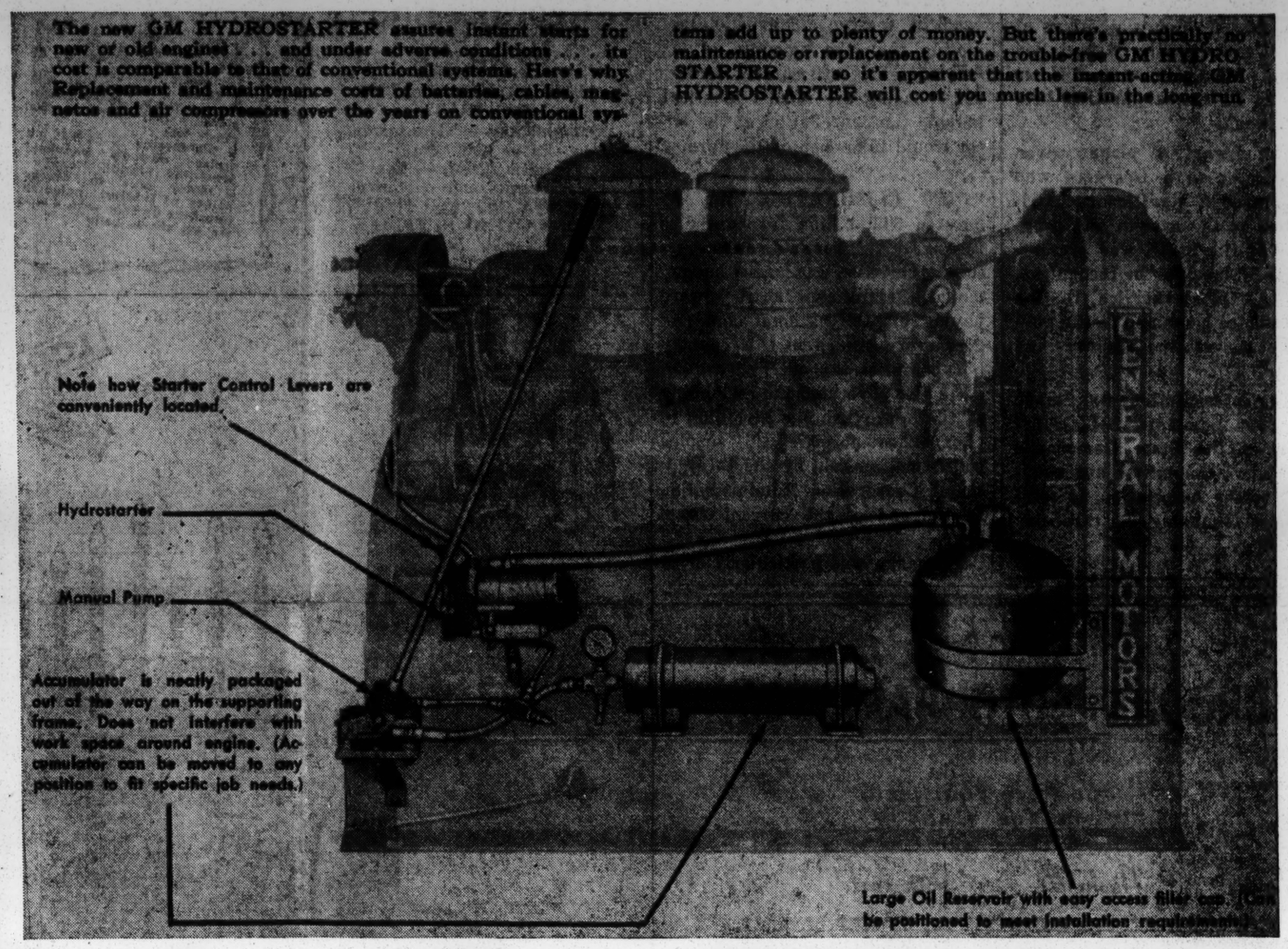
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